Vol. IV.

CHICAGO, ILL., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1897.

No. 23.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

COMRADE CARL KAUTSKY SPEAKS OF THE CLASS MOVEMENT.

Socialists Seek To Abolish Classes. To Do This It Is Necessary To Abolish Capitalism.

"Class struggle? Class movement? Class Consciousness?

'Hm! I am opposed to classes; ergo: I must be opposed to class movements. How often have you heard such remarks as these? As a rule people who make such remarks misunderstand the principles of the class struggle.

In the first place it is not true that the Social Democrats advocate the class struggle: on the contrary, they want to do away with the very system of society that makes the class struggle possible. However, before the physician can cure his patient he must know the true character of the patient's sickness. If you want to abolish the class struggle, you must know the causes that produce the class struggle. must know the means whereby the social system based on class rule can be

Comrade Carl Kautsky, one of the first writers of the International Social Democracy, gives the following excellent exposition of the modern class to their mountain haunts for another

"The class strife between the two classes of the proletarians and capitalmovement. It is the natural result of the conflicting interests that exist between those two classes, a conflict that quantities as sufficed for its wants. is as old as the capitalist form of production itself, that is born of and can it has furnished the foundation to both Socialism and the labor movement. Socialism does not preach this strife; it only attests the fact that such exists, points to the law thereof, and elucidates its significance. It is not an invention of Socialism; wherever the contrast exists between class interests, that strife will be found.

"None better than the socialists know that the source of the exploita-tion, of the sufferings of the proletarians, is to be traced to the whole social system and not to be charged to individuals. Yet no battle can be fought against a system without at the same time locking horns with the individuwho represent and defend it. Abals who represent and defend it. As was the duty of their outcomes stract battles for or against ideas and that the materials were used as intended and that each member of a family heads of thinkers; such, however, are impossible in practice. Feudalism could not be broken and the feudal lord left untouched. Slavery could not be removed without overthrowing the slave-

"None more than socialists strive to supplant the low, personal form of the class struggle with the higher one of principle; but so long as the contrast of classes continues they neither could, should, nor would lay it aside. When to-day a person of education declares he sympathizes with the proletarian, would have nothing to do with Socialism because "it raises the standard of class conflicts,' he only shows that either he has no understanding of his time to the public service, when he pealed to the people—the sovereign what the term implies, or that his sym-pathies are in fact on the side of the exploiters. In the latter alternative argument is a flimsy pretext; in neither case does the social movement lose aught if such elements stay away. On the other hand, the social democratic movement receives with open arms all those who are honest in their sympathies with the proletarian. The view that only the 'horny handed sons of toil' are entitled to participate in the class struggle of the proletarian never met with general acceptance, and has not to-day any representative among Socialists. They reject neither men of culture nor even men of prop-

"It is an error to believe that but for Socialism there would be no class struggle between proletarians and that class struggle there would be no Socialism. What Socialism has done is to give to this struggle, which formerly was sporadic, a permanent object; scious of its aim, the various discononly by reason of its participation in the life issues between the two classes that Socialism has developed from a sect, or debating body, into a world-

A Common Field.

Says the Nashville, Tenn., Journal of the hosts of productive industry can unite for the overthrow of capitalism and monopoly and to inaugurate an era of prosperity founded on economic manent and all embracing instead of it prevented independence of thought the cut-throat prosperity which robs one class for the benefit of another."

Two Pictures. By Cyrus Field Willard.

saw a little child Upon its mother's knee It laughed so low and mild And crooned aloud in glee.

I saw that child again Pale want had lined its face; Beyond its mother's ken In rags it wept apace.

Perhaps the child is thine, Did that thought e'er arise? The pictures passed in wine, To you, the dread surmise.

> Socialism in Peru. (By James Shelden Ingalls.)

The same intelligence was displayed by the Peruvians in the care of their flocks and herds and the management of their manufacturing and mining industries as in their agriculture.

Their flocks consisted principally of Peruvian sheep, of which there were several varieties. A part of these had been domesticated and a part roamed in a wild state over the mountains.

Once a year, however, the wild and the tame alike were surrounded by a strong cordon of men, caught and sheared.

After killing enough of the malesthe law prohibited the killing of females-to supply the people with meat the flocks were again released to return

The domestic animals were always attended by experienced shepherds. The ists is not one that can be introduced meat was cured and distributed among into or at will left out of the social the people. The wool was deposited in public warehouses, from which it

The women of each family speedily and skillfully transformed it into suitonly cease with it. The class strife is able clothing for their respective fam-not the product of Socialism; just the illes. After supplying themselves they ilies. After supplying themselves they were required to assist in making the cloth needed by the Inca and his household, as well as for all religious and governmental purposes, including a surplus to be deposited in the public magazines for emergencies. The quantity and quality of the cloth needed was determined at Cuzco, and the work apportioned among the several provnces. Officers distributed the wool and superintended the work. They saw that the materials for the finer grades went to those most skilled and that all performed their part according to their

This oversight extended not merely to the public work, but quite as much to that for the several families. It was the duty of their officials to know was supplied with necessary apparel.

In this work occupation was found for all except the aged and the infirm. No one was allowed to eat the bread of idleness in Peru. The same general regulations applied to all other classes of manufacturing.

Every Peruvian of the lower class or ommon people was a husbandman, and if not unfitted by age or infirmities or detailed for some public service, was expected to provide for his own sup-port by the cultivation of his land. A few, however, were detailed to special work in the mechanical arts and some in mining, but no one was required to give more than a certain proportion of of agriculture-the workman was maintained at public expense, and in his absence his own affairs were not permitted to suffer.

"The security of the working classes," says Prescott, "seems to have been ever kept in view in the regu-lations of the government; and these were so discreetly arranged that the most wearing and unwholesome labors. as those of the mines, occasioned no detriment to the health of the laborer a remark which certainly would not apply to any of the nations of the present, not even "Free America."

"These institutions," says Prescott "are certainly so remarkable that it is hardly credible they should ever have been enforced throughout a great empire and for a long period of years Yet we have the most unequivocal tes timony to the fact from Spaniards, who landed in Peru in time to witness their That there were some serious defects in their system must be apparent to all.

There was too large a retinue of officials, and nobles, and priests, with their expensive ceremonials, to have it receive our sanction. "The great hardthat he (the Peruvian) could not better others, rather than for himself. How-Labor: "The Social Democracy of ever industrious, he could not add a America is a common field where all rood to his own possessious, nor ad-

From our standpoint "the great hardship" or defect in their system was which will be general, per- one that is incident to all despotisms-

Life should be a constant becoming, continual undfoldment. Adding 'roods" to our possessions and advanc

ing on the "social scale" often prevents this, while nothing so builds up, so nobles, so exalts any soul as his labor for others. Blessed be the man who for others.

"But," says Prescott, after enlarg-ing on his view of the matter, "this is the dark side of the picture. If no man could become rich in Peru, no man could become poor. No spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. No adventurous schemer could impoverish his family by the spirit of speculation. * * * No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced by poverty or misfortune (it could hardly be by fault) the arm of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity; nor that which is doled out, drop by drop, as it were, from the frozen reservoirs of 'the parish,' in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it, and place ing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen."

Other despotisms have starved the body, the brain and the soul. Here at last is one that has at least fed the body, justifying the statement of Markham that "theirs was the most enlight ened despotism that ever existed."

Saved by Socialism.

Were it not for Socialism the wealth in which the favored few luxuriate yould not be safe for an hour. There would be violent outbreaks and fierce rebellions in all civilized nations on the the people. The wool was deposited globe. Socialism has taught the masses the benefits of orderly progress. It was dealt out to each family in such has made them patient to endure for quantities as sufficed for its wants. victory over wrong and oppression that is now only a matter of time. That is why the average Socialist, though he works and toils in a factory hell for a pittance, is a far better educated and more cultured man than the employer who employs him. He reads more and he thinks more. The growth of Social-ism is, invariably, accompanied by an increased demand for books, by a spread of advanced ideas and by a more tolerant way of looking at things. -Twentieth Century.

> ······ "Two hours and fifteen minutes daily work by each able-bodied man if systematically applied, would produce all the food, clothing and shelter the people need."— C. A. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

Why They Abuse Debs.

Why this concentration of abuse upon Mr. Debs? Why so often is he made the target for misrepresentation and abuse? The reason is that he has had the acumen to diagnose the disease best of all; and more than that, he, of all others, has the nerve to drive the surgeon's knife to the center of the economic malformation. A single sentence from Mr. Debs' appeal, dated Aug. 23, from Terre Haute, explains all this plutocratic virulency:

"There is no relief in the courts. We have tried them all from the bottom to the top, and they are all against labor. So far as I am concerned we will appeal to them no more. We will

now appeal to the American people. laration of Independence, on which the constitution is based, and which is higher than the constitution.

By a process of satanic hypnotism the people have been deprived of their lawful authority and reduced to a con dition of practical serfdom. Mr. Debs is the one man in America capable of organizing the deposed commonalty and leading them back to their inherit ance. His success means the exposthe big newspapers are the mouth pleces of the usurpers. Why won't they, then, slander him, and, if they can, inflame ignorant public sentiment against him to such an extent that it will tolerate his illegal imprisonment or even his assassination? Debs must be suppressed or slavery is doomed .-The Labor World, Duluth.

A Prostitute Journalism.

Says the Ann Arbor, Mich., Demo-The business of making a really great newspaper has grown to be such men have the capital to tackle the tob single handed, and the corporation is the result. The stockholders of these publishing corporations are usually the stockholders of other corporation They are financiers, bankers, capitalfat to fry and to whom the control of ever industrious, he could not add a newspaper represents more than the rood to his own possessions, hor advance himself one hair's breadth in the upon the capital stock. Well trained talent is easily secured to pursue the policy outlined by the owners—a policy which is always molded in the interest of their private affairs and is seldom a policy calculated to further the interests of the great mass of the peo-

MEN AND MEASURES

MAN WITHOUT A SOUL" DISCUSSES THE CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS.

Many Men Stifle Their Convictions in Order to Curry Favor with Rich Corporations.

A large majority of the human race annot grasp an idea or thought or measure unless it is embodied in som leader, or emblem, or figure-head. The old-time idea of reform, when men were only verging out of animalism, was preached to the people, embodied in an allwise creative power called God, and given the shape and

form of a man. It was impossible to teach them the first crude and indistinct ideas of a mysterious power without giving the source of that power the form of a man

The religious idea previous to the Delty idea was idolatry, in which all sorts of gods took on the form of men and animals, and even reptiles. Thought, to the dimly-thinking mind, must be embodied in some form with which the crude mind is acquainted.

And thus we find the Christian religion embodied the man Christ, a person who shared all the aches and pains and heartaches of the human race.

The religion of some invisible, immaterial spiritual God could not be conveyed to the average mind without using the figure of a man, or some other material body to bring the idea within

his conception.

For this reason there must always be leaders among men. The average human intellect cannot grasp an idea unclothed and not embodied in flesh. The world is full of bibles, and almost everybody in this country can read, yet the people must have preachers and priests-some one in whom the ideas and doctrines of religion can be embodied, and the most plodding and rude mind can then follow it through

No reform idea, even to-day, no odds how grand and just, can have a follow-ing unless some man of intellectual power leads the people in the new doc-Pine, and becomes recognized as the lead of the new thought.

And just in like manner are all meas ares of deception and fraud practiced upon the dim-thinking people. Any fraud or outrage can be perpetrated against the common people, and the common people hail it with delight, if

there are influential people in the lead. I used to wonder why the educated people of England would still cling to the old and crude form of government, and seemingly worship their figurehead queen, as though they really still believed in the old plous fraud and farce that kings and queens were God's annointed.

It is only of late that the truth

dawned upon me. I see it all now.

They hold up the queen before the common herd as the embodiment of government, and protection, and law and order, and while the poor dupes look up to the throne in worshipful awe and perform all the manual labor in the name of loyalty and patriotism, the plutocrats rob them of the profts of their toil, leaving them but a bare living and the hollow mockery of being "true Britons."

the figure-head of government every don the new as readily as a flock of of summing up is trifling. barnyard fowls can turn their backs conqueror as he goes crowing over his strosities, interesting only as memen victory about the farm and cackling toes of his early helplessness. A thoulove to his new retinue of pharisaical

Every scheme or movement, whether good or bad, must have a leader-must have some one upon whom the blessings of the followers can be poured and the curses of its enemies can be than to curse the measures he advo-

The human race has been in bondage so long that they cannot appreciate perfect liberty and freedom, and are to be good and lovable.

Joshua knew this fact when he spoke to his people thus: "Choose you this day whom ye will serve."

He knew that the average man could

not even live for one day without some way. An immense solidarity of thought, one to serve and look up to in pride and consequently an immense solidar-

the common people look up to with re-

I would caution all the prominent

leaders forced upon them.

Men are the same to-day as they were in the days of Joshua, and Joshua

knew enough to let his people select for hemselves a god after their own heart.

There are men, and thousands of them, too, to whom the truths and blessings of co-operative Socialism can never be presented plain enough for their slow and plodding intellects to grasp and appreciate; but give them a leader in whom they have faith and trust, and they will follow him into the Socialistic camp in a burst of enthusiasm and remain there.

When I look at the leaders in the social and political world to-day-the molders of public opinion on the old line of thoughtless thinking, I cannot help but blush in shame and humilia-

Take the editors of the great cities who are obliged to hide everything nasty concerning the men who buy advertising space, while the little country papers are owned by the railroads running into their town.

It is true, and a shame that it is true, I have my first country paper to see that carries a railroad timetable, and gets a family pass over a few hundred miles of road for the same, that dares to exhibit courage and manhood enough to condemn any of the many outrages these grinding and unscrupulous corporations perpetrate against the long-suffering and near-sighted public.

How cheap, how dirt-cheap, the aver age newspaper editor is! In some cases cheaper than smoked bacon.

And the only way to make these cheap creatures honest and loyal to their country is nationalize the railroads and all the other means of production and distribution.

Destroy the market where these cheap men can sell themselves, and they will grow in strength and man-

They are too weak to lead men, but they can persuade men still weaker and more blind than themselves to follow after the false gods who pay their tools a small pittance annually.

The tools of plutocracy cannot be prevented from offering themselves for sale, but when we nationalize the means of production and distribution, they will find no market open to buy their treachery and damnable treason, and political and industrial deception will die for want of a corruption fund.

A corruption fund! God of love and justice and eternal truth, if men but knew the many streams of putrid corruption flowing out from this dirty poo of plutocratic plunder they would not even touch a judge on the supreme bench without tongs,

Fear and Uncertainty. By W. C. Owen.

The curse of this generation is tha we are afraid. Anxiety and the fear of want are necessarily the constant companions of the poor, but no class is today exempt. Everywhere there is un easiness, everywhere there is a growing sense of insecurity, everywhere men dread they know not what.

Granted that a storm is coming, how will it result? Will it tear society up by the roots to land us again at the point which we started from centuries ago? Are we in for a period of lawlessness to be followed by the iron rule of a dictator? Men do not know the future is more than ever misty, and therefore they are afraid.

But we have the means of knowing. We are able to-day to take stock of our resources as we never were before, delegations of working people have Here in the United States we change and the most cursory examination shows that the resources are practiwas succeeded by another for a like power, under all circumstances, according to the constitution and the Decide service—and this was equally true.

We see that the old myths of the upon a whipped cock and follow his impotence of man are laughable monsand arts have picked him up out of his isolation of the past, and brought him into the closest contact with his Thus he has learned his ered the power that combination gives turned loose, as a more central point That character, forged in the furnace of a long and sturdy struggle will never desert him; that knowledge, so laboriously acquired, he will never for-

follow after and make him the personified embodiment of all they believe to be good and lovable.

The momentum already acquired by the human race is irresistible; neither priest nor master can hope to bar the ity of action: a universal acceptance of ognized leader—some man in whom all the grand truths of social and industrial co-operation can be awarded. is probably far nearer than even the st sanguine of us suppose.

That the masses are no effort to become leaders. Let the people select the one whom they desire to lead them. There must be no leaders forced upon them table when once accomplished. Be-fore 1789 we were but a handful of Re-publicans in the whole of France, sald Camille Desmoulins.

A Good Man.

My lord Fat Purse was a very good man, He had houses and land galore

And with each new day he had some

new plan

For aiding the needy and poor.

He gave to the churches, he gave to the homes.

He gave to the framps by the way, Yet the terrible curse in the land grew And the poor grew poorer each day.

My lord Fat Purse was troubled and

And many be poor, I see,
I can do no more than to give from
the store
That a just God gives to me."

Yet acres and acres of fertile soil
Lie idle under the skies,
While my shrewd lord waits and holds
his estates
Till prices of land shall rise.
Deep in the breast of those acres broad
Which are selfishly grasped by one;
Lies wealth for many—free gifts from
God

God Like the wind and the rain and the

Food in the ocean and food in the soil— Free gifts from a hand divine, And who dare hinder the fisher's toil,

Or say, "Lo, the sea is mine!" Ah, my lord Fat Purse, no wonder the of poverty hangs like a pall
When you hold by fraud the lands which

Has meant for the use of us all.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Socialism in Other Lands. The government of Nicaragua has taken control of the tobacco-raising in-

Abbe Eayraud, a Socialist priest, was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies from the Fanistere district recently by an increased majority, the previous election having been annulled.

Germany clears about \$5,000,000 per annum on about one-sixth of our rail-road mileage, affording greater security, better service, much cheaper fare and higher wages, besides considerable free transportation to the government. An act providing for the protection of the building trades' workers against fraudulent contractors is to be introduced in the reichstag of Germany. The act contains the provision that claims of workers shall have a priority right over mortgages on erected buildings. The Socialist members will back the measure.

Australian papers are full of interesting gossip about the Socialistic progress. The labor party in all the onies seems to be in good condition. and the activity displayed in organizing and circulating literature is giving the hired capitalistic politicians cold shivers. The various governments are helpless.

The municipal election at Ghent, Belgium, in which the Socialists increased their vote by 3,000 over the previous poll has created no end of surprise among the politicians of that country. It is conceded that no obstacles seem to check the political revolution, and a Brussels paper advises the old parties to form an offensive and defensive alliance to deal with the "dangerous" movement.

The French Socialists are evidently preparing for another parliamentary struggle. During the past few weeks waited upon Premier Meline and demanded that the duty on foreign grain food. The ministry, which is attempting to save the small farmers from bankruptcy at the expense of city workers, has refused to yield to the cialists will force the issue. A cry for cheaper food will make a powerful political slogan in the general elections in France next year, and it is highly strength and theirs; he has mastered probable that the party will make great gains-sufficient, perhaps, to insure the probable triumph of the Socialists within ten years, as recently predicted by Prof. Jaures.

Reports of the existence of Socialism in Japan have previously been received. but recent news tends to show that the new doctrines may soon become a vital influence there. The first Socialists have been men of research who studied scientific European works on the subject. After the Chinese war the government of the Mikado sent five officers to England to study army organization. Two of them returned convinced Socialists, and promulgated a Japanese translation of the "manifesto of the communist party." A year ago a young Japanese coming back from Australia where he had taken an active part in the Socialist Labor movement, founded at Tokio a journal called The Future of the Worker, to advocate the class war in politics as in economics. The results of the agitation thus commenced have already excited capitalistic apprehensions, and a clamor has pletely skeptical of its attainment is arisen from a certain quarter for energetic measures to be taken in the German manner.-London Clarion:

> I early noticed the great attention given to dead machinery and the neglect and disregard of the living ma-chinery.—Robert Owen.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

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NOTICE.

TO ALL LOCAL BRANCHES: Your attention is called to the following section of the constitution: "On or before the 5th day of each month the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the monthly dues for current month to the National Council, and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership."

Now is the time to send in a sub scription for the Social Democrat. This means YOU.

Go to work and organize a branch as soon as you read this paper.

Have you read Merrie England? If not you had better send for it at once See the fourth page of this paper.

The true socialist recognizes the value of education, and circulates the literature of the movement as the best means to set people thinking.

Ex-Governor Waite says "the biggest anarchist this country ever held control its political power and deterwas Grover Cleveland." But Cleveland mine the form and direction in which Gobin

The Labor Convention.

The abandonment of the labor Chicago on Sept. 27th, has been a sore throughout the country, and there has been a persistent effort made to hold Mr. Debs and the Social Democracy fellows. responsible for the matter. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Mr. Debs did his full duty, and neither sanctioned nor advised the aban- the only way to obtain the former is donment of the convention, until it became evident that the thing could not be made a success.

At the St. Louis conference a committee was appointed to make arrangements for the Chicago convention. This committee consisted of James O'Connell, president Machinists' union; W. D. Mahon, president Street Railway Employes' union; J. R. Sovereign of the K. of L., T. J. Donnelly of the Cinabor union Debs, and before their departure from St. Louis the members of the committee agreed to meet in Chicago several days in advance of the convention.

Acting on this understanding of the matter, Mr. Debs came to Chicago ten days in advance, and found Mr. O'Connell absent from the city and not expected to return until after the date of the convention. A letter from Mr. Mahon stated that he could not be present, and it was impossible to hear from Mr. Donnelly or locate Mr. Sovereign.

In the meantime the executive board of the Federation of Labor declared that there was no necessity for the convention and advised affiliated organizations not to be represented; and other organizations declared the meet-Mr Debs advised delegates of the Social Democracy not to come.

Let it be noted that the Social Democracy did not declare the meeting off, and no responsibility can attach to it.

Very much has been said to make it appear that Mr. Debs declared the meeting off and stated that there was no necessity for holding it since the miners' strike had been settled. This is wholly untrue. Mr. Debs only ading could not be made a success, and meeting could have accomplished great good for the cause of labor had it been held according to the programme out-

failure is in no way chargeable to the

BULLINGS STATES THE EDITOR'S ARENA

day night Ex-Governor Altgeld made

the people. This position is somewhat in advance of any which Mr. Altgeld has heretofore taken up. He is already on record railroads, telegraphs and mines, which cialists and must logically accept all of their programme. There isn't a Socialist in the country who asks for any more than Mr. Altgeld desires to see done. When we have all the trusts and monopolies in the hands of the government, and being operated for the benefit of the people, we have Socialism.

. . . Mr. Altgeld prefaced his declaration by stating that he believed the American people were in favor of competi-He then went on to show how competition had become impossible through the growth of trusts and other combinations of capital; how the enforcement of law is rendered a farce because of the influence which these combinations exercise over corruptible representatives of the people's interests, and he saw no remedy for the evils of the condition short of full govcontention that competition has be come an impossibility and the people must own and operate the monopolies or the monopolies will own and operate the people.

Mr. Altgeld placed the necessity for government ownership on very high ground. He said that "It is not an economic question, but a question of saving Republican institutions."

will not quibble over trifling inaccuracies of statement. Socialism—the necessity for government ownership of all monopolies—is at bottom purely an itself in a term of years. economic question, and because it is an economic question it becomes a political question and presents itself to the political student as a matter of salvation for those free institutions which he holds up as an ideal. In other words, the economic form of the social organism determines the essence of its political form and controls political manthey must have complete economic freedom to work out their ideal. They cannot be sure that they will be able to get what they want politically convention, advertised to be held in as long as they remain dependent for than our attorney general. their means of life on a small number disappointment to many of our friends of capitalists who hold in their possession economic power sufficient to en-

as well as political freedom. The lat- law. ter is conditioned on the former and to abolish private capital and place the Democratic political government in control of all industries as administrator for the whole people. In the words of Mr. Altgeld: "Let the public take the monopolies in order to restore the voice of the people in the government." That's pretty good Socialist doctrine.

Socialism is an economic necessity, made cure-all for the evils of human ity. It comes as a natural growth to solve the economic problems raised by capitalism, and all the developments. political and moral, which spring from those problems. No man or party is responsible for its appearance; no man or party is able to stop its growth and development

Another speaker raised the point. hat it would be impossible to nationalize the railroads, because the finan cial burden involved would be too great for the people to assume. The fallacy of this position has been shown so often that it is surprising to find any It was at this juncture that fairly well-informed person taking it up to-day. The people can buy the railroads, even at their present unjust capitalization, without assuming financial burden one cent greater than

they are loaded with to-day. revenue of the railroads is de rived from their operation; it comes from the people who use railroads. This revenue in the gross is greater than all expense of government in the United States, from the federal government down; it was enough last year vised our delegates not to come after to pay nearly 6 per cent on all railway became plain that the meet- capital, after providing for all the exstill firmly convinced that the Now, the people are not going to quit using the railroads as soon as the government takes hold of them. They will continue to use them and furnish lined at St. Louis.

It is a matter of regret that the meeting was not held as advertised, and it must be distinctly understood that its assuming a great financial burden preaching before the poor through almsgiving and through preaching patience and hope, and by every other means, emollient and continue to use them and turnish through generation after generation, the revenue for their operation, just have been that great one of helping the poor through almsgiving and through preaching patience and hope, and by every other means, emollient and continue to use them and turnish through generation after generation.

At the Hull House meeting last Mon- its character. It is no harder for the people to pay interest on government the clear cut statement that he was in bonds than it is to pay interest on favor of the government taking pos-session of all the trusts and monopolies way stocks. The government could way stocks. The government could and operating them for the benefit of buy the railroads to-morrow, even at their exorbitant capitalization, and without adding one cent to the people's burden of debt, by simply issuing government bonds to railway owners as being in favor of nationalizing the to cover the whole sum of present railway capitalization and wiping out priis a step towards Socialism, but when vate railway capital entirely. The peohe abandons the specific and comes out ple would use the railways the same as flatly for nationalizing all monopolies now, and the net revenue would be he places himself right in line with the used to pay interest on the bonds and create a sinking fund for the purpose of paying them off at maturity. long as present owners get interest on their investment it matters nothing to them whether the interest comes from government bonds or private railway bonds.

I do not believe that this is the best way for the government to gain posession of the railways, or even a good way: I merely put the question in this form to show the absurdity of the assumption that the people cannot carry a burden which they are already carrying, merely because its form is changed. In this basis, I say that the burden would be no heavier. That is the worst that can be said; as a matter of fact, the burden would be much lighter.

In its present form, the burden of furnishing revenue for the operation of the railways continually grows heavier, through constant increase of capiernment ownership; in short, he plant-ed himself squarely on the Socialist as the government took hold increase of capitalization would cease, and the burden on the people would diminish, instead of increasing from year to year as at present, until, in the course of a generation, say, the burden would be entirely lifted and the people would find themselves in possession of a vast revenue producing property debt free. At this point transportation could be carried on at actual cost.

If the government can own an immensely valuable property in public This is hardly correct, but Socialists buildings, lighthouses, parks, harbors, etc., which produces no revenue, it surely can own a good revenue producing property which is able to pay for

The Pittsburg Post says:

The attorney general's opinion nullifying section 22 of the Dingley tariff because after it had been enacted it turned out to be something only a limited number of people wanted, and besides was not good politics, should be sent to all law schools of the world ifestations. Those who control the as a specimen of legal twisting by economic power of a country will also which a provision of law as plain and binding as language could make it is declared void and inoperative. After must take a back seat for Martin and such power will be exerted. If the this achievement there is not a law on people want republican institutions the statute books he cannot declare void.

> How is that for "free America." where "the people make the laws?" The Czar of Russia has not more power

Of course, there is nothing new in this to Socialists; but it shows the inconsistency of capitalism when capitalable them to control the actions of their ist journals come out with statements of this sort while continually admon-The logic of Democracy is economic ishing workingmen to have respect for

> We desire to call the attention of our readers to the articles on Socialism in Peru, by James Shelden Ingalls.

This is a subject that is full of interest and it has never been properly written up. Mr. Ingalls has devoted a great deal of time to study of the Inca civilization, and his articles are educational in the best sense of the

Special articles, treating briefly of roads, etc., are promised from the pen of the same author in the near

future. A fact worth considering is that, at the time of Pizzaro's conquest Peru contained a population of 30,000,000 and poverty was unknown in the dominion of the Incas, while at the present day the same extent of territory contains but little more than 5,000,000 people, three-fourths of whom are sunk poverty the most degrading.

Go to work and form a branch at once: you can't afford to put this thing off any longer.

The true Socialist does something tor the cause every day.

What are you doing for the Social Democracy?

We must not imagine that all things are lapsing into confusion if every tender protestant be not compelled to bear his part in certain social conventions; nor doubt that roads can built, letters carried, and the fruit of labor secured, when the government of force is at an end.—Emerson.

And the land shall yield her fruit and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety.—Isaiah.

The mistake of the best men through generation after generation. which they have not at present, but of rearranging that burden and changing ders for them, Justice.—Ruskin. To Humanity's Champion. By Bertle Dubols Peters

Hail leader of a race oppressed. Who boldly fronts the awfulness Of man's supreme despair: With great heart filled with tenderness And words of deepfold earnestness, You would the wrong repair.

The white slave struggling to be free Shall find through you sweet liberty, What e'er oppressors say; For pale lips, white with agony, And hearts wrung with life's misery, There dawns a fairer day.

careworn women, bent with toil.

Slaves adding to the master's spoil, Shall lay their burdens down And children's faces, aged and pale. The imprint of an awful tale No longer shall be found. Chicago.

Humanity's New Birth. By Murphy O'Hea.

In the struggle for human existence, or years and years amidst the sorrow and the gloom of suffering, deepening with the blood and tears of God's children, and the standing record of death as the bitter testimony to all the rest, the unequal struggle of labor has gone on until the intelligence of man, arising like the sun-kissed light has felt saddening experience of darkness, and rises to be free and now knows that the progress and happiness of the disinherited masses of the nation is an utter impossibility under the present unjust, unchristian laws that are a standing curse and a blot upon the escutcheon of American liberty.

The industrial system of the day is a relic of barbarism, because it produces the survival of the strongest, denying n its cruelty to become rich the sacred rights of the toiler, and under a system of wage slavery produces an abnormal condition of affairs, resulting into hatred, starvation, misery, sorrow and climaxed with prisons, workhouses, and the wretchedness of agonizing pauperism, where God is forcotten by avarice and the devil humanzed, hell glorified and heaven mocked.

Hope in legislation has faded away, for political corruption, fattening upon price of its debauchery, the wages of its sin, has become insolent and sells way the priceless liberty and rights of the masses

The boodler has taken the place of the patriot, and open, bare-faced treachery is the rule of the hour.

Laws are made at the nod of trusts and corporations, whilst legislatures are bought and the halls of justice, the market place for trickery, fraud and the trampling upon conscience and right.

Under such a system the people have no rights, and hence it is that labor falls by the roadside, helped thereto by the curse of the Jaggernaut car of competition, whilst the voice of Christ cries out in vain, for the carnage goes on amid the tramp of uniformed brutes, murdering by wholesale the victims of bad government, and stifles their conscience in the fires of lust and debauchery-the hired assassins of labor's

right. From out this woe and sorrow the divine nature of man has revolted, and a return to first principles has shown that in it lies the only hope for labor. Strikes are obsolete, so we find that a return to a system of justice, love and charity-in fine to the vindication

of humanity and the practicing of its divine truths, the only hope for us, because then we shall have purity of action and the liberty of the enactment of just laws, suitable not to the development of trusts, but the happiness of labor. Under such a system is the grand truth fully vindicated of work for the ic interests are assailed, I am impelled unemployed.

development of the grand, holy expresthe Peruvian marriage system, the sion—brotherly love—the heirloom of political struggle that they occupy in humanity into a mighty brotherhood not merely a pleasing sentiment; agrarian law of the Incas, the great co-operation—the kingdom of a co- gle is daily becoming more intense and perative commonwealth.

Under such a joy can man only be man, right and justice the glory of the hour and charity practiced Under such a rule will political corruption, debauchery and might fade away just as the star spangled darkness of the night fades before the glory of the rising sun.

Then will manhood be brilliant with deeds of true glory; prosperity and happiness blazing for all: Christ and God beloved as never before, for the divine truths will be free as the air, to shine and enlighten to the glory of humanity, for each one will be the expression the whole, because each one will know the power of the mighty truth. You are your brother's keeper.'

Oh, divine wisdom, ever for man's glory, but trampled upon by bigotry and sects, and polluted for selfishnes to antagonize man against man so as the accursed few, the creatures of cor ruption, might fatten upon the spoils of office and deny to labor the rights of man-its holy inheritance

A voice has been heard in the wilderness. A new commandment has gone forth that you love one another, and redeemed people will be seen marching on to glory and prosperity, beneath the banner of Social Democracy, to produce the hope of all—the co-operative this end.—Brauer-Zeitung. mmouwealth

Sound the loud trumpet o'er Egypt's the glad tidings! Man can be redeemed; the light is shining; new songs will be heard, and a happy, smiling, pros-

perous people the outcome.

God bless the Moses of the hour to

lead us on-Eugene V. Debs-the hero of other days. Wave forth our banners, fling them to the breeze, and may the god of battles—the god of the people—shower down upon us his holiest benediction, whilst the powers of the

ple—shower down upon us his holiest benediction, whilst the powers of the devil fly before a regenerated—a newborn people, free from the shackled chains of their slavery.

How Judges Are Made.

In these days of subservient judges and partial courts it is a great advantage to be able to watch in detail the practice of making judges, for if we obtain an insight into the methods employed to elevate men to the bench we may more clearly perceive why the courts are partial. Last week the Republican State Committee nominated a candidate for the bench of the Court of Appeals in this commonwealth. The candidate named was no othcandidate named was no other than that eminent feder-al judge, William J. Wallace of the United States court here, the same man whose hasty decision in favor of the railway combine last winter saved it from being overthrown by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Trans-Missouri case. As we have observed before Judge Wallace was a railroad lawyer before he became a federal judge. He is now nominated by the Republican machine for chief justice of the Court of Appeals, and the man who seconded his nomination was Chauncey M. Depew, president of the board of managers of the Joint Traffic Association, the very railroad combination that was saved from ruin by the hasty decision of Judge Wallace some months ago. Mr. Depew has been working hard to secure the nomination of Judge Wallace.

Railroads and other great corpora tions come constantly before the federal judiciary in important law suits, and when in addition to the promotion of corporation lawyers to the bench we see the president of the greatest railroad combine on earth securing the nomination of the man whose decision saved his monopoly from ruin, it is possible to understand that partiality which is so pronounced a characteristic of our courts. It is easier to apprehend why the judges issue their injunctions against the workingmen and why the corporations get all they want from the courts. It is manifest that Judge Wallace, as chief justice of the Court of Appeals, would be strongly biased in favor of the railroads controlled by the Vanderbilt family, for he is the creature of the president of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company. Incidents of this kind ought to be studied carefully by every citizen who has found it difficult to believe that the courts are as corrupt as they are alleged to be. It is probably true that the gross corruption of the federal judiciary exceeds anything recorded of the judges in the time of Henry VIII. and now our state courts are to be reduced to the same low level.-Twentieth Century.

Advocates Political Action.

In his report to the German-American Typographia the secretary of this national trade organization, Comrade Hugo Miller, is urgently advocating political action by organized labor. After reviewing the progress of the organization during the past year, Comrade Miller expresses the belief that the workers should join in a class-conscious political movement for the overthrow of the present industrial tem. The following is translated from the report:

Having shown that our organization is ever alert to protect its membership, making sacrifices whenever its econom to suggest that the German printers of This, evolutionized, means the full this country make it their imperative less hopeful of success, and can only be looked upon as a means to an end emancipation of the workers cannot be achieved through it. The fetters of wage slavery can only be thrown off hy simultaneous action upon the economic and political fields. Monopoly is becoming more brutal and insolent, and is backed by a judiciary ever ready to follow its beck and call. and state supreme judges, by their actions and decisions, manifest their desire to secure the approval of their plutocratic masters by trampling upon the constitutional rights of the work ing class, and injunctions are issued without hesitation, which even the czar of Russia would not dare to promulgate. Does it not, therefore, be come our holiest duty to strive and wrest the political power out of the hands of the exploiting class and give it back to the people, the producers of all wealth? This cannot be accomplished as long as workingmen on election day vote for the Democratic, or Republican, or any other party that upholds the present iniquitous social system. To the contrary, tollers must present a solid phalanx in support of a party pledged to a class-conscious, rev olutionary propaganda for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Fellow workers, do your duty also to attain

> How is any given person to find out what is the particular station to which born infant does not come into the world labeled scavenger, shopkeeper, bishop or duke.-Huxley

With Apologies to Shakespeare.

To be or not to be—that is the question: Whether 'tis best to suffer the damned tortures of the Capitalist system, or exercise a little com-mon sense and by

is nonsense.

The ills we have are greater than the ones we dread to fly to.

We can be men! Then let's not lose the native hue of resolution,

And suffer enterprises of great pith and moment to have

Their currents turned awry.

Let's band for action and be not dismayed.

Let's leave this poverty and pain behind us, and seek the

Peace which Socialism brings.

.Proportional Representation No. 5.

The point which will appeal most strongly to independent men is that our present system gives the two main political parties a most unjust monop oly of representation. In most constituencies it is impossible for any man to be elected to Parliament if he is running on an independent platform such as Socialism. He has to run either as a Republican or a Democrat, and when he does that his independent principles have to be subordinated to his old line partyism every time. Now you know very well that the voters in this state who place social reform questions above every other question are numerous enough to be entitled to several representatives in the legislature-representatives who would be so free and clear of the two big parties that they could place such issues first in their legislative action. Why are such men not elected now? Simply because these earnest men and those who would help them are scattered into little belnless minorities by this division of the country into one-member constituencies Throw down the barriers between any half dozen of these preposterous little one-member districts and let the independent and progressive people in them be free to unite and choose their own man. There would then be enough of them to return at least one member to the legislature; and you know the straight kind of man that they would send there. Now they are divided conquered, helpless and unrepresented for even if they vote for a successful candidate he is not the man they really want.

To secure full proportional representation, the following general features

are necessary: First-The large districts, which may be formed by grouping together several of the present one-member constituencies. We shall throughout use a seven-member district as our illustration, although nine or ten members to a dis-trict would be even better. In cities and towns, the wards should be abolshed and councillors or aldermen elected at large. This would in many cases enable the number of councillors to be reduced; or, in the case of a large city like Chicago, the city might be di-vided into two or more constituencies, eturning say nine aldermen each.

Second-Each elector should have one vote, which would count for one only of the candidates.

Suppose there are twelve candidates, and seven are to be elected. Some of the candidates would get more votes than they needed, some about enough and some would get too few. If you now declare elected the seven men having the highest number of votes you get, in a very simple way, a fair approximation to true proportional representation. This plan is known as the single vote. At present, we are only concerned with it as one step in

Third-There should be some arangement by which, when a candidate has too many votes, his surplus votes should count for the benefit of some other candidate holding similar views. Also when the votes of any candidate are so few that he cannot be elected then some other like-minded candidate, who needs these votes, should get the benefit of them.

The single vote is the simplest of all the methods of proportional representation, and is an immense improvement on the present system. It has the great merit of being the basis of more thorough systems, which can be built upon it after its adoption. It is especially adapted for municipal elections, and some leading proportionalists propose it for that purpose.

Its drawbacks are the liability to a waste of votes, and the fact that if the constituency is divided into two or more parties, and one man on one side is very popular, he may draw so many votes from his associates in the same party that the opposite party may get in one man extra. Also, in the event of a party split, extra candidates could not be nominated without risk of losing one of the seats

Therefore, where parties have to be represented, it is better to use one of the improved methods that will be described in coming issues of the Social Democrat.

Whatever the owners wish to do, the whole power of property will do, either through the law or else in defiance

ZAMMANTUMANTUUMANTUUMANTUUMANTUUMA FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Altgeld's Position.

Mr. Editor:

In your issue of September 9th you give the synopsis of a speech of Mr. Altgeld delivered in Philadelphia, in which he advocates the purchase of all coal mines and railways of . the country by the government. have always considered Mr. Altgeld an uncommonly able man and a reformer, and am truly glad that he is now very near the borders of our socialistic

True, he says, he is no socialist; but the name is of little importance as long as the substance is all right.

The measures advocated by Mr. Alt geld in the speech in question are pure ly socialistic, and as to his denial of being one of us, we must make allow ance for a little natural timidity.

Remember, what a set of dangerou radicals we are! Remember, that a person becomes tainted by the mere avowal of the slightest connection with

Mr. Altgeld, however, has passed the Rubicon, and I feel certain that dozens of reactionary papers have uttered their anathemas and closed the gates of good society upon the unfortunate ex-governor and I sincerely sympa-thize with him, for a position on the fence is very uncomfortable.

However, the mischief is done, and as he now stands branded as one of these abominable social outcasts, might he not as well make the best of it and enter our camp, as Eugene Debs and other cranks have done, and take the comfortable camp chair in waiting for

No sooner has he taken this chair when a new light will break upon him. He will see that half measures worse than none; that the annihilation of two trusts can and will not remove

Why secure the railroads, and leave the telegraphs, telephones, water ways etc., in the clutches of the public foe?

Mr. Altgeld must see that trusts and long as the lobby molds our laws and monopolists secure all franchises by

There is no stopping half way, for to stand still is to retreat and to retreat lic and private liberty and prosperity to the common foe.

I rejoice to see Mr. Altgeld scourge so severely the nefarious practices of our railroad corporations, but wonder that he did not go further and point out the reckless slaughter of human

lives of which they are guilty.

There may be a few instances where wrecks are unavoidable, but the statistics of Germany, Austria and other countries owning and running their railways, show plainly, that ninety nine per cent of these shocking wholesale slaughters can be avoided, where the employes are not overworked, as is the case with United States.

In my humble opinion these horrible holocausts are one of the most potent arguments in favor of the ownership of our public highways by the nation. But do not stop there, Mr. Altgeld; be consistent and war against all other combines as well, until our nation has ecome one universal trust, managing it in the interest of all.

When you pardoned the surviving victims of the Haymarket tragedy, whom a partial judge had wrongfully condemned, I sent you a copy of my reform novel, "Either, Or," with emphatic expressions of my approval and admiration. Show yourself equally worthy of approval and admiration on of being recognized as the comrade of men whom prejudice and malice condemn, but to whom the world will

RUDOLPH LEONHART SR

Judicial Usurpation.

In attempting to reach the great masses of the people through one newspaper, as the organ of a great body it is absolutely necessary, if it is hoped to it. to accomplish results, effective and speedy, that numerous issues should be ture and results, are prompted by the presented by many different writers, instinctive desire of self-satisfaction. speedy, that numerous issues should be but all articles should be tersely ex-

There are so many grave questions arising to-day, which threaten the subversion of the republic that it is difficult to know where to commence in appeals to the individual voters and One finds his happiness in dying for citizens to co-operate in defense of the benefit of others, while the other

That which looms up darkest of all is the usurpations of the federal judi- of others. Making an allowance for ciary, which has already subverted the the rare cases of transmitted predilecconstitutions of the various states, relegated them to the condition of provinces, under a hydra headed despotism less than fifty judges, unknown to people—not elected—but appointed for life by a central despotism-for afer all that is precisely what the general government has become, with a judiciary and a congress completely in unison with the administration.

The creators of this republic would s ousand fold rather have reunited th the government of England with with the government of E an autonomy similar to that of Canada or Australia, if they could have fore-seen to what a condition the so-called free citizens of this mis-named repub-

lic would have been subjected at the

end of a century.

The most bloody invasion by foreign powers could not produce the ruin, devastation and suffering of the millions which has come upon us through the rule-in so-called peace-of the plutocrats.

This judiciary usurpation is the gravest of the dangers threatening us, and deserves the most careful consideration and opposition. It is but a short step from the inhibition of constitutional guarantees of life, liberty, and property-to progress from the denial of the right to peaceably assemble, to use the public highways, and then to be ruthlessly murdered by a sheriff, to be backed up immediately by the power of the great state of Pennsylvania with its soldiers and muskets and cannon, without the slightest indication of holding the murderers to account-to step forward in the denial of the god-given elements of water. and air, and to turn loose at the dictation of one class all the murderous elements for the destruction of the unarmed and peaceable classes who protest in vain against the utter destruction of liberty, right and life.

The vast and wondrous conservatism of the people at large looms up on our horizon in contra-distinction to what has occurred and will occur again in other countries under similar circumstances.-Blanton Duncan.

As to Washington.

To the Editor.-There is in this state an element that will make it its business to become associated with the Social Democracy for the purpose of manipulating its affairs through influences actuated by hypocrisy. As a tree is known by its fruit, the curse under which we are groan-ing, and that he who says "A" is indeed to be inconsistent, if he refuses come from Social Democratic influences

its promulgators that "eternal vigilance

is the price of liberty."

Aside from these possibilities there is not a section of country on the globe monopolies corrupt public morals, and in which the purposes of the move-that we can be no virtuous nation as ment can be more happily realized than the state of Washington, with all its advantages in matters of climate and fertile resources of various kinds, with no excessive cold in winter, nor extreme heat in summer, and with means a surrender of principle of pub- no need of ditches to irrigate the soil to gain abundant harvest,

It is to be expected that capital will attempt to make it appear that such movements are injurious, but the inherent characteristics of the movement itself are sufficient, if given a fair opportunity, to make it grow on almost any soil.

Heaven bless and speed the cause of this humane undertaking!

The movement is taking root in this state, and much good may be anticipated from the work, as the time is ripe, and the field full of earnest thinkers and honest men and workers for the good of suffering humanity.

L. A. EGDAEG.

An Objection Answered.

Whenever our opponents engage in a discussion on Socialism, one of their strongest arguments, designed to prove the impossibility of the realization of the Socialistic ideal, is that the Socialistic state must of necessity presuppose absence of selfishness from human nature and since selfishness has its root in the instinct of self-preservation all Socialistic efforts will result in total failure.

In the eyes of those who are not acquainted with the teachings of Socialism this argument may claim a con-siderable degree of plausibility, but those who are initiated in the theories of materialistic Socialism will at once perceive its inefficiency.

Socialism does not combat with selfishness as such and does not presuppose the absence of it in the future We merely assert that egotism, as all other characteristics of human nature, changes with the change of social con-Commonwealth it will assume a form perfectly compatible with and essential

All acts of man, whatever their na The martyr who puts his own life at stake for the good of others and the one who sacrifices others for his own good are equally selfish; the difference lies not in the origin of the respective acts of the two, but in their results. realizes his happiness in the benefit that may accrue to him from the death tions all men are born with the tendency to develop in accordance with the requirements of their surroundings. Although we admit that the man exercises some influence on his environ-ment, we nevertheless recognize the marily moulds the man.

force of his circumstances to commun-ism which has created so many tender sentiments, so well characterizing the savage and barbarous communities. Being too weak in his hunting for food to overcome the beast by his own physical powers, the savage has been ditions, or socialism and the co-op forced to form combinations with his tive commonwealth.—The Beacon.

sprung up the first community in the hunting stage. Travelers have reported many cases in their observations where the savage has manifested mos humane feelings to his fellow man. He has been seen sharing his scanty meal with his fellow-savage, not even being cognizant of the fact that he was doing something praiseworthy; he simply did his duty. He has been seen running to the rescue of his tribesman from a misfortune at the peril of losing his own life.

It would be a folly to ascribe the acts of kindness, which so frequently have moved the admiration of explorers, to the absence of selfishness from the savage nature. This is by no means savage or barbarous village is such tha brings about an idealization of the selfishness of its inhabitants, since the wellbeing of one depends upon the wellbeing of another.

Among the New Zealand cannibals most humane relations between man and man have been found to exist. It has been observed that when a canni bal has the good fortune to obtain the rarebit in the shape of white human flesh, he will not devour it himself, entoying the so much coveted dish; he will call on all his comrades to enjoy the feast together. Even the old and sick are not forgotten. This is another grand illustration of the force exerted upon man by his environment Scarcity of food has made of the same man a cannibal and kind-hearted communist.

The wild, individualistic selfishness of our own so-called civilized world is again nothing more than a product of the economic structure of our society The greed and avarice and passion of a civilized man to amass fortunes no matter at what cost of human suffering are nothing more than natural results of the unnatural economic arrangements based upon the peculiar form property-"private property." In a society like ours where organized greed in the shape of trusts, organized force in the shape of government, and organized obscurantism in the shape of churches reign supreme, it is not surprising that selfishness should assume such a horrible form and should be manifested in the abominable disregard for others which now prevails.

We do not battle, then, with any form of selfishness, for we do not battle with effects. We merely study the effects with the view to get at their causes, and when the causes are found the war is on.

Sociology has taught us that the form of property of any state determines its political, moral and intellectual life. The form of property of to-day, as I said before, is "private property," and we look to it as to the primary cause of all our social calamities.

We propose, then, to change the modern social structure by changing its economic basis. On the ruins of private ownership in means of production, we propose to build one Co-operative Commonwealth and we do not fear the so much spoken of selfishness. As the war makes the warrior and the revolution the revolutionist, so will the Co-operative Commonwealth make the Socialist, not only of idea, but of sentiment as well.

VICTOR PARSONNET.

"Two hours and fifteen minutes daily work by each able-bodied man,

dally work by each able-bodied man, if systematically applied, would pro-duce all the food, clothing and shelter the people need."— C. A. Wright, U.S. Commissioner of Labor.

Trusts and Monopolies.

Economically speaking, trusts and monopolies are on the right track. They are co-operative, each within its advanced to a higher stage of development, the co-operative stage. The trouble is that the benefits are confined to a chosen few within the circle The people at large are left out in the The trust produces economically by killing competition within its realm, and sells at a high price to the people at large. The many ways in which they control all the markets and keep down outside competition is a long story, a sad story, an indignation arousing story, and cannot be entered apon here. But their economic basis is correct; and the only final remedy is a larger trust in which all the per ple will be included. When telegraphs exist for the service of all the people and not for profit for a few, will be near our friends, though When railroads exist for the service of all the people instead of "for all the traffic will bear" in the interes of a few, coal miners in Pennsylvania will not be starving while farmers in Nebraska are burning their corn keep from freezing.-Medicyal World,

A Pust Cause.

A short survey of the conditions surrounding the working class of this country, cannot but convince any honest man of the justice of the socialist cause. Despite the most determined efforts of organized. labor conditions have been growing steadily worse. No only has it been impossible to secure shorter hours and better pay, but cut down has followed cut down until hop has all but fied. It is evident that there is no middle ground. It must either be capitalism with its low wages, long hours and miserable con-ditions, or socialism and the co-opera-

The New Order.

The Labor Day celebration at Waco, Texas, was a very successful affair, the leading feature being the oration by Mrs. Alice McAnnulty, of Circleville, Tex. Following being the peroration will give an idea of this lady's elo-

The decree has gone forth for a

nobler political and material life—competition has almost completed its work Its off-spring-monopoly-has set in operation the forces which are speed-ily effecting its decline and assures its inevitable death. Disturbances and conflicts have become not the exception, but the rule, in almost all relations of life. Especially is this true as regards that of the industrial, where ceaseless mutterings of discontent and often rebellion forebodes coming troubles-how grave and serious none may be able to forecast, and no power avert, save by the inauguration of a complete and sweeping changechange that shall recognize in its essentials the truth of natural order— the establishment of interdependent common interests. Only is this possible except as the logic of human life indicates. Founded upon these principles we will preserve to the people the values which properly belong to them. To God's children will be extended God's free gifts. A permanent industrial system-co-operative and profit-sharing, free opportunity, free access to the earth. This would involve such reconstruction that wealth knowledge and power would increase as the world has never known, and in effect would so conduce to man's material, social and spiritual needs as to develop the most beautiful ideal and sublime social life that has ever lived except perchance in the song of the poet or the philosophy of a sage.

We would then take into account not only the hand, but the head and the heart of the world's workers-proving a nobler consideration than that which has organized the law of economic warfare, and that brute greed is a nonessential in human life and progress.

"The evolution of industry has done much to enlarge our views, and so give us loftier ideals.

We are fast learning in what our rightful heritage consists. It is not more material wealth we crave, but civilization. Justice and truth-loving; proud in the dignity of our uprightness of purpose, and animated with the convictions of marvelous possibilities of a society in which one-half shall no longer be masters-the others slaves, we stand resolute and unmovable for the right and just, the true social order that is to be. Nay, we pledge life-all the means within our power to its successful inauguration. Never have men before battled for the triumph of a cause so great—so comprehensive and noble as this

"Labor, itself, has taken the initiative in this work, and organized June 19, 1897, at Chicago, the Social De-mocracy of America. What could be said that would so much commend the purpose of this movement, and to the credit of its claims than that it has for its leader and supporter that man of men—the brave and steadfast 'apos-tle of labor,' Eugene V. Debs.

"The Social Democracy, he declares is a great social economic and political organization,' and he calls upon all to unite under its banner, and further adds that they have organized to 'put an end to the present barbarous strug-gie by the abolition of capitalism, the restoration of the land, and of all the means of production to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a Commonwealth which, though it will not make every man equal physically nor mentally, will give to every worker the free exercise, and the full benefit of his faculties, multiown circle. Each in its own domain plied by all the modern factors of civhas passed the competitive stage, and ilization and ultimately inaugurate the iniversal brotherhood of man. The Social Democracy, he declares, 'will make democracy the "rule of the people," a truth, by ending the economic subjugation of the overwhelmingly great majority of the people.

"While yet we have worked and waited for ages for the time when man could rise to the plane of these truths and demands; since at last it becomes a fact, we have not worked and waited in vain. While defeat for the time may have seemingly thwarted our hopes, the fact that a great uprising has been organized and has de clared for the broad and perfect principles that characterize this movement is proof beyond contradiction that we have made a great-the greatest advance step forward that marked any period in social and civil progress.

"Courage then in this great fight for freedom-this new dispensation which is to crown the future with the radiance of a new light-and a divine symphony whose rhythmic chords of proclaim 'Peace on earth, good will toward men.'"

The country should wake up to the fact that the issue which it will have to meet in 1900 is not free silver—or at least not that alone-but Socialism of the Bellamy stripe. All the elements of real opposition to the Republican party are drifting in that direction, and if they succeed in uniting they will constitute a formidable organization.—Minneapolis Tribune (Rep.)

The communistic motto of the Es senes was: "Mine is thine and thine is mine." It is only the latter part of the motto which has come down to us.

First Report of the Colonization Commission to the National Executive Board.

inary report, and to offer such suggestions as the important work entrusted to its hands demands. We are aided materially by our previous knowledge of the terrible social conditions prevailing, and by the studies and investisible remedies. The suggestions here in, except as to fundamental principles ed as tentative and subject to modification or abandonment as knowledge of conditions and methods become more defined and accurate.

In accepting the important work for granted that we are in brain and also that prime need—water—for irri-heart in accord with Brotherhood demands and co-operative principlesthat we are of the Social Democracy of America. We should not be your commissioners were this not beyond question. The suggestions and conclusions therefore that are made herein all fol- friendly in an available degree; as, for low from the primary beginnings assumed:

First-Then, all persons who desire gal organization can be utilized. to become members of any colony that mocracy of America, and be known as tried and true members thereof. Great care must be taken in the selection. At first, none but known men and women, ably 50,000 less. approved by the local bodies to which they belong, may be enrolled as colony applicants. Examinations, confidential ial for our work. in character, shall be made by organizers or agents of the Colonization Commission and of the National Executive Board.

It is not necessary now to name the form or objects of such inquiries; it is know the climate, soil and other consufficient only that they must be di- ditions. rected, within fair and full fraternal lines, so that we learn of character, is a matter of grave importance. They physique, industrial ability, resources, cannot be obtained by etxra-legal and other things which will tend to methods. the making of a good co-operator and Social Democrat.

This clashing competitive age unforprove out in the world splendid agitators and combatants, but who may not, workers-men and women disciplined for reclamation by irrigation. into harmony, as well as industry, by the savage struggles they have endur ed, are what we shall most need. We yet available. must have therefore: (a) sincere Social Democrats; (b) working and disci-plined co-operators in spirit and pur
As to public land entries, they may pose; (c) they must be selectedhealthy, capable, industrious, resource ful-able to earn and learn, so that if

in the organization of other colonies. Second—We and they must fully understand that our colonization policy follows. All economic experiences declaration of principles, that class and personal control of the natural wealth and economic functions of the state or The water laws also will all be procommunity, creates chattel and wage slavery, reduces laborers to economic serfdom, destroys liberty of thought and the possibility of freely accepted order and action, and makes a sorry farce of the forms and forces of socalled free institutions.

We must also apprehend as clearly tunity for the present, that history is a march, and what is past belongs to the present and all of surely in the present belongs to and must help in making the future we labor for.

ing on another great phase of reconstruction work, "The problem of to-day or ten years, according to local circles that of the New England Town Meeting, which resolved:

jail while we are building the new, and "Third-That we will use the material of the old jail in constructing the

Our work is reconstruction rather than revolution. To achieve that, is the community or co-operative equation Therefore, from the outset we must understand: (a) That our colonies are to be fraternal, co-operative and Democratic in principles and purposes

(b) That they are to be home-making and protective in character and plan. (c) That they are to be political and therefore Democratic and humanitarian in aims and outcome: that the Social Democratic and Co-operative Common wealth is the goal of all our endeavors

So much then for the spirit and mo tives in which the Colonization Commission must live and act.

THE PRACTICAL STEPS BROADLY OUTLINED

must include the following general needs and methods: First-The acquiring and possession

of the lands needed to begin on. It is taken for granted that land and labor are the primal factors. All the by the State Boards, and accepted by

work of Social Democracy as well as the National Board. all the struggles of the present and 6 The National Trust or Commission cruel competitive social disorder tend to the education of suitable labor. The properties and plants, within from five work directly required at our hands then is the location and acquisition of to your Commission to have the adland in bodies and character sufficient vantage of gaining that solidarity of for the broad but firm beginnings of form which a period of undisturbed the Co-operative Commonwealth.

observations point to one or more of be concentrated and controlled. But the new Northwestern states as the fit- the purpose must look to decentraliza-

Gentlemen:-The Colonization Com-|ting location for the large beginnings mission recently appointed by you of our projected Co-operative Colon-deem it desirable to submit a prelimization and of the moulding and making of the Social Democratic Commonwealth, which under the laws and by means of our votes, we have full rights as citizens to work for and achieve. The states now in mind and in order given are: Washington, Idaho, Nevada, gations which for years past we have Oregon, Montana, Utah and Colorado. all given to underlying causes and pos-Commission, should be the first points for concentration. Politically, both and definite purposes, must be regard- states are now in the hands of friends -those at least whose brains are open and whose faces are turned to the sunrise.

Economically, there are great resources and large bodies of vacant laced in our hands, it must be taken land-pastoral and arable; they have wealth and timber in abundance.

Washington also has a maritime and commercial future which is of the most significant character.

The legislation of both states is

instance, the public character of water is maintained, and flexible forms of le-

The population is still sparse, while may be organized, must accept the the area is very large. Washington principles and aims of the Social Demiles

The population of both states will not exceed 500,000 persons, and is prob-

The intense economic agitation of the past five years has rapidly made mater-

A large proportion of the first 5,000 colonists we locate can be found within the borders of those two states, thus minimizing cost of transportation and settlement while giving comrades who

The acquisition of the lands needed

Legally then they are only acquirable by (a) gifts; (b) purchase from railroad grant controllers or private tunately produces comrades who may owners; (c) by direct grant from the general or state governments, and (d) by entry on public lands under the in the initiative stages, at least, prove Homestead and Desert Land acts, or by good co-operators. Disputants and the assistance of state authority under critics will have better place outside what is known as the Carey act, grantfor the first few years; builders and ing 1,000,000 arid acres to each state

> As to private gifts of land, there are none now in sight, nor are grants as

> As to purchase, if this can be avoid-

be arranged for, but will require great care, as under United States land laws entries are all made by individuals. need be they can, some of them, help under the Carey act there is a strong in the organization of other colonies. smooth through the law, with the aid of friendly state officers, the acquisiprimarily rests upon the creation of tion and holding collectively and as a homes, not markets; security, not profit trust body, large areas. In other words, or dividend. That's the direct personal the Carey land grant will help us to equation. The social or community one areas of from 10,000 to 100,000 acres in different places, selected as they teach, and they are embodied in our must be in the availability for reclamation through irrigation by the water

tective of the collective control.

So also may the United States Desert Land law, and those for entry on timber and stone lands, coal and other minerals. All these reasons and conditions tend decidedly to make in the new Northwest states our best oppor-

It will be essential to go slow but

THE FIRST LEGAL STEPS.

Wendell Phillips once said in speak- The land and water, mines, timber, etc., tional Executive Board. "First-That we will have a new jail." Advisory Council should be selected to "Second-That we will use the old act in conjunction with the trustees. The members of the National Advisory Council would necessarily consist of persons of high character, known to all the land for their ability and integ-It should embrace men of the standing of Professor Frank Parsons, B. O. Flower, editor New Time; James Clark Ridpath, editor Arena; Rev. Myron W. Reed, and at least one able lawyer, like Judge Clark of North Carolina, or the present chief justice of Kansas. They need not all be active members of the Social Democracy: they will all, of course, be in full harmony with the lofty aims of our Commonwealth building.

The Board of Trustees will be in law the controllers of all collective property, lands, town sites, water sites, res ervoirs, fixed factories, workshops and industrial plants, water and other power, mines, forests, quarries, transportation lines; in short, the fixed means on which the Commonwealth colonies will exist. Local colony tools. animals, temporary plants, needed buildings, residential, etc., should be held in trust and collectively by State Boards, or by Colony Boards approved

should terminate as to state collective to ten years. This proposition seems

Second-At this time, all precedent In the beginning the direction must

not be criticized as a forced one, your the other states named. Commissioners suggest that at a proper lective interests of the Social Democ-Social Democracy.

This would not embrace the membership of said Trustee Board, but the general form, scope and intent of the ty in securing an affirmative from the comrades at large.

During the period of trusteeship pro-posed the State Boards will be in process of formation and training. Experience will teach needed modifications, and the concurrence per referendum of the comrades will give democratic vitality to the action proposed and powers entrusted.

In detailed work of organization there can at present be no definite plans settled upon. Outlines are before at the beginning by those local or per-

The general form of legal collective state trustees is also submitted. As to and executive action. other matters, after acceptances of gen-

1. That the only requisite, after that shall be willingness to work and agreement to obey the directive needs. No ness, etc., incapacitates.

2. That all who join locally or are sent out, must consciously agree to the limit needs and wants to sustenance and security; to accepting assignment

000 to 12,000 acres will be all that is of the power to direct. arable and made available. The balance will be mountain or pastoral and water-collecting. A number of townships must be taken together with due regard to water supply, so that township after township may be occupied, until the hydro-arable area is filled. We may be able to secure a half score of suitable locations in Idaho or Washington and under the Carey National and State Land Grant acts, take them up for colonies, which will give us from three to five years for proving up, etc., and enable us to hold suitable land areas in bodies of from 10,000 to 100,-000 acres each.

4. Agriculture is, of course, the basis of our settlements and security. But we may under the physical-economic conditions of Washington or Idaho, as well as under helpful United States and state land laws, plant smaller industrial colonies in timber camps, cattle ranges, coal and other mines, fishing camps, towns for manufacture, trade and exchange, etc., etc.

5. It will be necessary to devise

A SUITABLE LABOR CHECK. We will be obliged in equity to make a limited labor day and to provide for the same in terms of ordinary currency, until other and better conditions are evolved for a rate of settlement of such day's pay. This must be considered then and in connection therewith. the practicability of arranging a division of this labor rate of pay, into: (a) The life or limit rate, and the credit

If for example the day be eight hours, and the rate of return in terms of ordinary currency be placed at \$2 to \$3 per day, the life-limit labor check would be for that amount of supplies necessary for daily maintenance. The balance would be credit for additional needs and uses. This is only suggestive. As a matter of fact and once organized properly, the economics of co-operation will reduce the cost of good living to a very small amount per capita. The other margin offers room for the individuality of taste, etc., that will be exercised without infraction of the liberty of others.

6. The 500 local unit must be from the outset made up proportionally. There must be a certain selected num-ber of married persons with small families at first. Then the others, youths and adults of both sexes, so that suitable attractiveness and division, in industrial and social life, may be brought

Again the 500 unit will be a village formation. Ten of such units will make a town industrial center, and five of these latter probably a county.

A half dozen different locations will extend influence and diversify control and results industrially, as well as po litically. The organization of the lat-ter must be extended beyond the colon-The co-operation of labor and votes, opinion and agitation, must be kept up in every corner of the states

These are the general suggestions that your Commission deem it wise to submit. For its immediate work it proposes to get into the field as early as possible. The Commission believes it imperative that there should be a speedy examination of Washington or speedy examination of Washington or Idaho, and if possible on their return Herbert N. Casson.

tion. In order that this concept may some inquiry into conditions in each of

Its office work should be so organized time the matter of a National Board as to widely extend correspondence, of Trustees for the holding of the col- maintain economic discussion on cooperative lines, secure a full library racy be submitted in due form by the and line of authorities, invite and ob-National Executive Board through the tain the experiences of all other bodtain the experiences of all other bodreferendum to the membership of the ies, and prepare literature for the use of the comrades and all inquirers.

There is, in the estimation of your Commission, an opportunity of building up a considerable and paying pubproposition. There will be no difficul- lishing husiness. All of this will take time, but it must be systematically pursued, on lines elastic enough to make possible all accretions in accord with our principles.

In the administration of the great powers and duties now imposed and that are to be created the control and direction of the whole property collectively must be retained in the duly selected national representatives of the Social Dimocracy of America. In other words, the movement must not be slain sonal differences that are inevitable in such efforts.

ownership in trust is already suggested, as also that of local detail and oper—

The joint stock idea cannot be admitted. The colonies must be self-govating control. The transfer idea to erning in all detailed administration

Wide latitude must exist for the oferal principles and personal and in-dustrial capacity and character, we for a long time in semi-isolated conditions, but they are charged with maintaining general policy and are only permitted to carry out the same. They must sometimes assume the responsiwork, no place and no food, unless sick- bility of interpretation; they must always be ready to act promptly.

The means may often differ, but the purposes never. Each colony will be cutting loose from the outside order; to formed by and on a co-operative mandate of the Social Democracy. That mandate will be the primate controllin the co-operative army to work for ing till changed by the voice of the Sothe making of industry attractive; to cial Democracy as expressed by the inupbuilding of free homes and the maintenance of Social Democratic free-recting referendum. In other words our colony organization must be that The unit of colony life already in- of the co-operative army, whose comdicated-500-seems to your Commis- manders are to command, qualified by sioners a practical one. The township, large needs and controlled only by the as understood in United States land properly expressed will of the colleclaws, of thirty-four available sections tive body under constitution and by of 640 acres each, should be at first the vote or to be removed by the National limit of a colony of 500. (There are two Executive Board for proven incapacother sections in each surveyed town- Ity, disregard of principles and aims ship reserved by the United States law or established want of integrity. Disas school land, and they will be necessarily one of the state's aid to our collectivity.) In arid land townships, 10,- capacity is indeed the supreme evidence

So we submit to the National Executive Board that primal requisites in our colonization work will be:

The organization of a co-operative army, willing to obey because necessary for security and success.

The maintenance of chief control in the hands of the Social Democracy through its lawfully chosen agents. The executive administration of de

tails by local colonies, under state and national direction. The settlement of all grave issues and differences in colonies, etc., by the National Executive Board, under the

constitutional methods of the Social Democracy. It must be remembered that in this age of rapid inter-communication we can always be in touch with the most

remote of our colonies or agents. A telegraphic cypher code can be provided for emergencies and the mails are usually swift enough. Time is a great healer of the fret and friction arising from conditions and differences. The cultivation with firmness of an altruistic spirit will usually bring reason to

bear in all disputes. All of the foregoing is respectfully and fraternally submitted by your Col-

onization Commissioners. RICHARD J. HINTON, Chairman. W. P. BORLAND, Treasurer. CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, Secretary.

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES

[Notices of meetings will be published under this head for 25c per month.]

Illinois Branch No. 19 meets every Sunday at Turner Hall, Larrabee street, near Garfield avenue, at 8 p. m.

Illinois Branch No. 10 meets every Thursday at 221 N. Clark street, Chicago. Illinois Branch No. 9 meets 2d. 3d and 4th Mondays at 5 p.m., 63d street and Centre avenue, dhicago. Business meeting for members only 1st Sunday of each month at 10 a. m.

Missouri Branch No. 3 meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 13th and Wyoming sts., St. Louis, Mo.

Illinois Branch No. 1 meets every Sunday at 163 Washington street, Chicago, at 2 p. m. Members please attend. Illinois Branch No. 2 meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., Nathan's Hall, corner Milwaukee and Western avenues, Chi-

Pennsylvania Branch No. 1 meets every Sunday and Tuesday at 8 p. m., Co-oper-ative hall, 1125 Poplar street, Philadel-phia.

"THEOSOPHY"

BULLETIN OF OCTOBER ISSUE, 1897.

The main feature of the October THEOSOPHY (published at 144 Madison Avenue, New York City, price 20 cents), is the great prominence given to the subject of education as it is, and as it should be. Professor James L. Hughes, Inspector of Schools, Toronto, contributes a striking prophecy on the nature of "The Twentich Century School"; and "Pentaur, "who is understood to be another prominent educator, puts forward some valuable "Neglected Factors in the Educational Problem"

Dr. A. Keightley, of Cambridge University, England, concludes his remarkable article on "The Power of the Imagination," G. Hijo's, "Why I believe in Reincarnation," treats this subject in an exceedingly witty and amusing manner, giving the usual experience of those who hear of Reincarnation for the first time. Address Editor THEOSOPHY, 144 Madison Avenue, New York.

Society is at present organized on a

Progress of the Movement. The large hall of Branch 1 in the

Journal building was taxed to its full capacity on Sunday afternoon, Sept. Comrade Seymour Stedman delivered an excellent address, and his telling points in favor of the Social Democracy were generously applauded. Great earnestness and enthusiasm was displayed, and the meeting was eminently successful from all points of

A very enthusiastic meeting was held at Kensington on Friday evening, Sept. 24.

The large Turner hall was packed to the doors by an intelligent audience, who listened eagerly to Chairman Debs, Secretary Kelihar, and Director Burns expounded the truths of the Social Democracy.

Sixty-eight new members signed the roll and a large number of subscriptions were taken for the Social Democrat at the close of the meeting.

Our Kensington brothers are inteligent and wide-awake, and there is no doubt but their promise to add 1,000 names to our membership roll will speedily be fulfilled.

At its regular meeting on Sept. 23 Columbus Branch (No. 5 of Ohio) passed resolutions strongly endorsing the recent action of the national executive board in revoking the charter of Branch 2 of Illinois. The resolutions call for a change of economic conditions by means of an "intelligent American ballot," and condemn violence and "the dagger of the anar-Our Ohio brothers are active and earnest, and appreciate the value of systematic education as the best means of changing economic condi-

Comrade Seymour Stedman is doing ome effective work among the Chicago branches, and his pointed talks for the ocial Democracy is bearing fruit.

The "old wheel horse," Meyer London, is making his influence for the Social Democracy felt in New York, and our rapid growth in the "greater" city is due in no small degree to his able efforts.

The California woods seems to be full of advocates for the new movement and the earnest manner in which they are taking to the work insures our sucess in that locality.

A very enthusiastic meeting was held on Belmont avenue on Saturday evening, Sept. 25. Many new members were added and deep interest was displayed in the truths of the Social Democracy, as expounded by Chairman Debs and Secretary Keliher. A very pleasant feature of the meeting was the presence of Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Mac-Donald, of London, Eng. Mr. Mac-Donald is a member of the famous Fabian society of England, and also a prominent member of the Independent Labor Party. He and his wife are here for an extended sojourn. Mr. Mac-Donald will lecture in the principal cities of the country.

On Sunday evening, Sept. 26, an interesting debate took place in the commodious hall of the Chicago Single Tax club, in the Schiller building, the subject being Single Tax versus Social-

Comrade Seymour Stedman very ably upheld the Socialist side of the debate while Mr. Stephenson of Philadelphia represented the single taxers.

Mr. Stephenson is an able and ready debater, and he made out as good a case for the single tax as is possible, but he found an opponent worthy of his steel in Comrade Stedman, who presented arguments which Mr. Stephenson plainly could not answer. The large audience was appreciative, and impartially applauded the telling hits of the speakers, but the weakness of Mr. Stephenson's wind-up was evi- The Commonwealth Book Store dently a disappointment to his support

Comrade Stedman had much the better of the argument, and is to be cougratulated on his grasp of the funda-

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The Social Democrat as it is doing for them our circulation would double each If the sympathy and "God speeds"

sent to this office were coined into practical assistance our growth would indeed be great. No member has discharged his full

duty until he has secured the application of at least one new member for each meeting. The routine business of local branch

es should be dispatched "instanter" and the time of meetings occupied by instructive lectures and debates.

Remember the Social Democracy is organized to help you and if you would have a strong and well equipped champion, it must have the earnest support of each individual member.

Don't fail to place number of your branch and full address on each letter and report, it will save us a world of trouble and you delay. Don't depend on your executive board

to make your branch a success, but let each member be an executive board himself and look after the organization's affairs as if its very existence depended upon him. We fully appreciate the difficulty for

some to raise even the small sum required for membership; but this deplorable fact should cause us to work the harder to provide the necessary financial support. Why take a life-time to accomplish

what can be done in a few months? Organize into a systematic working force and let there be no pause in the work until every eligible person in your locality is enrolled.

PRICE LIST OF SUPPLIES.

The following is price list of supplies furnished by the National Coun cil. Each local branch should order in such quantities as will avoid the loss of time, trouble and expense in sending out in small quantities: Applications for membership per

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Important Notice.

The members of Branch No. 19 should ote change in day of meeting from Monday to Sunday.

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